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others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* (leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that portion of the village is rigorously taboo.

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it is not convenient to cook.

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour. A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old.

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pleasure. The diary of at least one young man reads 'Lounged about the place' for the greater part of the time. I give here a few typical examples which will serve to show what the natives do with themselves at times when no special ceremonial or other activities are in progress.

A week from the record of Sobak, an elderly man

May 11. Sat around on his verandah and on mine, making string for a fishline and chatting.

May 12. Split a quantity of sago-palm leaves and prepared them for making thatch for his hut, which has remained unfinished since the move from Gomen.

May 13. Went to do a day's work in the new taro garden.

May 14. Went to the nearest plantation, some 5 miles off, to sell copra, and was away all day.

May 15. Stayed about the village doing nothing in particular.

May 16. Worked at the taro garden.

May 17. Made ceremonial pudding for his wife to take to Tabut for a feast which she was going to attend.

A week from the record of Matēv, an elderly woman

May 31. Went to Tarongen with other women to barter with the women from Saposa.

June 1. Went with some other women to Baniu with a young pig to be brought up there because the food is more plentiful. She carried the pig on her back in a pack. Stayed there the night.

June 2. Came back from Baniu. Fetched taro for the evening meal.

June 3. Worked all day in the taro garden.

June 4. Stayed in the village, spent most of the day cleaning the meat out of a coco-nut shell to make a new water-bottle.

June 5. Went to Tarongen to barter with the Saposa women.

June 6. Worked on the government road.

A week from the record of Tahol, young woman with a suckling infant

May 22. Sat around on her verandah and on mine, playing with her baby.

May 23. Went to the reef to gather shell-fish, leaving her baby with another woman.

May 24. About the place most of the day, towards evening went to fetch some bananas from Gomen.

May 25. Brought over some things from her old hut at Gomen, swept round the hut in which she lives at Kurtatchi, and cut away some bush.

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provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

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852 565 574 commoner picks it up and stores it away carefully in the rafters of her hut, where it remains indefinitely. The women all play with the remaining balls of ceremonial pudding, throwing them at each other; when they are tired of this they eat up the remains of the taro.

After this the child may be put down to sit or play on the ground at any time. He continues to wear the *sekwit* leaves for a few days.

852 565 782 When the child's parents think it is time to take off the *sekwit* leaves, they make more ceremonial pudding, and invite the women of the village again. A fire is made, and some of the pudding is burnt on it, while the *urar* are called upon to come and eat; but not this time individually by name.

'Urar,	*komu*	*tsura,*	*nom en a tamū,*	*mom*		*sek rik nom*
Spirits,	here is	fire	you eat taro,	we (exclusive form)		want loosen
u sekwit	*kurin a bai'i,*	*bai'i*	*to tsuga*	*non*	*ia.'*	
the plant (from)	hand of child,	child	dislikes	it.		

Then powdered lime is spread round the fire in a circle, the women dab some on their ears, then they take the *sekwit* leaves off the child and throw them away into the enclosure made on the occasion of a previous ceremony.

6. *On returning from the first journey.*

852 565 This I saw done at Petats; it happens also in the Bougainville villages, so I have included it in the series. In the Petats dialect it is called *lolōas*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *wakōkoa*. It is also performed for adults after a particularly difficult trip, and for important visitors who come from a distance, but for children only on this one occasion.

On the evening of the day when Tiusai had taken her baby son, Kaup, with her to fish on the reef for the first time, she sat on her verandah with Kari, her husband's mother's sister (*haihis*), and Bohin, her husband's mother's sister's son's wife (*munihan.*) Her own people live on another island. Some of the younger women of the village brought large bush-taro leaves and twisted them up into bags which would hold water. Then they went into the sea and filled them with sea-water, and running at full speed through the village, poured the water over the legs of the three women. None was poured over the legs of the child. This they did twice. The leaves were then hung up on the sides of the hut, where they

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Each boy carries in his right hand a carved lime-pot,[1] hanging by a string. At this stage in the proceedings the pots must be empty of lime. They are filled by the *kwigin*, in the *tobar*, after the close of the ceremony. The right hand also holds a bunch of the aromatic leaves called *tsutsuir*, which he has been forbidden to use since putting on the hat. In his left hand he holds two areca-nuts on a stalk, and in his mouth a catkin of the betel-pepper, which has also been denied him. These prohibitions are now at an end.

The *amro* walk round in wheel formation, as at an ordinary *kōma*, with their charges on their shoulders. All the men join in it, but the women do not dance, they keep up a ritual wailing, just as they do for a death. When the men have been round once, the procession goes back inside the palisade. By this time it is getting light. The *amro* have a short time for rest, then they take the boys on their shoulders again, and the *kōma* is repeated for another two rounds. Then the boys are carried to the front of the long house, and are offered water by their *amro*, which they must only pretend to drink, and taro, which they must only pretend to eat. After this, which again is said to be a safeguard against their being 'poisoned', they go into the long house and are given pig, taro, and ceremonial pudding to eat in reality. The visitors from other villages are provided with supplies of areca-nut and go back to their own homes.

Later in the morning, all the initiates, still wearing their new hats with the red patterns, make a round of the village and go inside the huts of the married people, which they have not been able to do since they first put on the *upi*. Then they come back to the long house, go inside the palisade, take off the decorated hats and put on plain ones. The decorated ones are kept in the permanent *tobar*, and are put on for special occasions. Boys who are *tsusaus* may, if they wish, wear decorated hats all the time, but must keep them covered with an outer layer of leaves. The outer covers are made for them by their *amro*, who do not receive payment for this service. Fig. 9 is a boy's drawing of a *kōma* connected with the *watawutf*, at which the boys are wearing the decorated upi.

The long house, the palisade, the *roror* trees, the wooden figures,

[1] For description of these lime-pots see p. 432 and Pl. 72. One of those figured (on left in second row) has actually been used in a *watawutf* ceremony, but as a rule those that have been so used are very highly prized by their owners who are unwilling to part with them. Another had similar human figures, but placed vertically instead of horizontally.

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The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed.

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended, and shall presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawutſ* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage.

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be observed at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a *kōma*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six

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252 462 The methods previously described are those of preparing taro for ordinary everyday consumption, and are all in the hands of the women. Besides these, there is another method of preparation, which is considered of great importance. This is the making of *menak*, which may be described as 'ceremonial pudding', as it is not made as part of an ordinary meal, but only for use in a prescribed manner on special occasions. The making of *menak* involves the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and trouble. Because of its ceremonial character, it is exclusively in the hands of the men, women taking no share either in the preparation or in 252 the cooking. The method of making it is as follows: Taro tubers in sufficient quantity are peeled and boiled. When they are soft they are taken out of the pot, and put a few at a time into a large [415 412] flat wooden tray made for the purpose (*kōn*), and are pounded with a wooden pounder, which is usually nothing more elaborate than a stout stick the end of which has been carefully stripped of its [824] bark. If no *kōn* is available, a dish made of the stiff sheath of the areca-palm (*kōbū*) may be used instead. While some of the men are busy pounding, others are scraping the meat of a coco-nut which is riper than those used for drinking, the meat being now hard and solid. The contained liquid is thrown away, or may be given to the pigs; at this stage it is not considered fit for human [412] consumption. The meat is scraped from the shell by means of a serrated shell, fixed on to the end of a long board. Sometimes the broad end of an old canoe-paddle is utilized for this purpose. On one I brought home the shell is a species of cardium (see Pl. 38, no. 9). The operator sits on this board, holding the projecting end, fitted with its shell, between his knees. The scrapings fall into a receptacle placed on the ground in front of him. When a large quantity of coco-nut meat has been shredded, it is squeezed through [415] a piece of coco-nut fibre (*ipoits*). A liquid resembling milk is the result, this is poured into a native pot of oval shape with a lip at each end (*kepa*, Pl. 61*a*, no. 3); the usual round ones are not used for this purpose. The pot is put on a fire and kept on the boil until the contents become very thick. This mixture is added to the 252 pounded taro, mixed well by stirring, and the resulting paste is 415 either made into balls by rubbing between the palms (Pl. 33), or, more often, pressed into frames made of thin lathes of wood, about an inch wide. These frames are then made up into a rectangular package by wrapping them in banana leaves, and are placed in an

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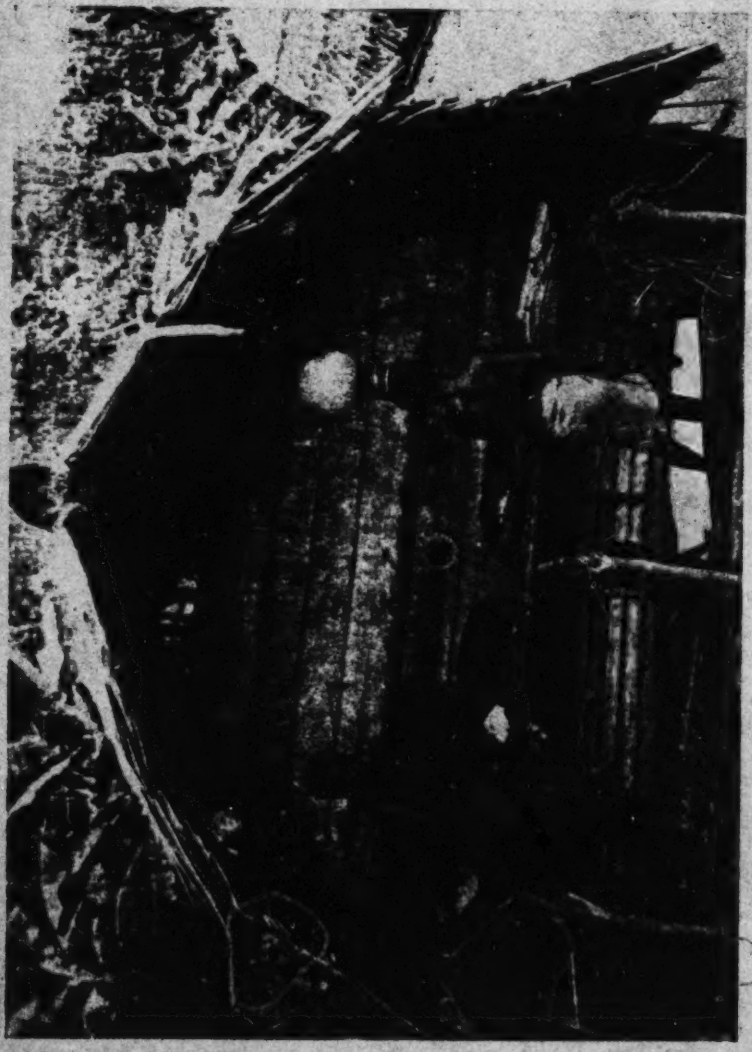
PLATE 33



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MAKING CEREMONIAL PUDDING.

[Facing p. 274]

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oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours, so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required. When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *arorov*, in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta; the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

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PLATE 36

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a. GETTING WATER

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b. CARRYING WATER

[Facing p. 288]

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PLATE 37

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b. GAUA SMOKES A PIPE
(She is carrying bread-fruit in a coco-nut-leaf basket.)

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a. SEA WATER IN BAMBOOS
(Beach at Tiop.)

[Facing p. 289]

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the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset (Pl. 36*b*). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*) made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in. These water-containers (Pl. 36*a*) are called *ruin*; the same word is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths of bamboo (Pl. 37*a*). I have known men from the mountains walk many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness, but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality. One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun. On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is *obos*. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut, thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller

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the taro garden with their loads, or from the reef with their little baskets of shell-fish. They begin by fetching firewood from the bush; huge loads are carried on their backs by means of slings of banana fibre hung from both shoulders after the manner of a ruck-sack. The small girls must help in this work, each according to her carrying capacity; they must also bring water. The meal does not differ greatly from that taken in the morning, except that more is eaten. Its main dish is invariably taro, either boiled or roasted, sometimes supplemented by yams, sweet-potato, or green leaves, or bread-fruit when in season. For the much needed 'relish' there will be fish, or shell-fish, or perhaps opossum, if any have been caught during the day.

Meals may be taken either inside or outside the hut, but are most frequently eaten on the women's verandah. They are shared by all the occupants of the hut, without rule of precedence, men and women eating together, and are times of pleasant chat and laughter, especially when the family sits at leisure after their hunger has been satisfied and discusses what is to be done that day, or what has been done, if the day is over. A man and his two wives, who usually occupy adjacent huts, will often share their meal on the verandah of one of them, with the children of both in great evidence. The adolescent girls eat with their parents, and the smaller fry hover about, scrambling on and off the verandah, getting such portions of food as their elders hand over to them. But the family circle is not complete, for the boys wearing the *upi* may not join it. They come to the door at the men's side of the house to have their food handed out to them, then they must take it away and eat it on the verandah of their *tobar*, or where they please, so long as they avoid the proximity of the women. It will be remembered also that persons standing to each other in the relationship of *wagun*, *watʃitʃio*, and *nuwan* may not eat in one another's presence (see Chap. II), and that if a woman eats in the presence of her daughter's husband she must do so behind her hood.

Utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food are simple and few. Nowadays an occasional enamel saucepan, and perhaps a cup and a plate or two, will be seen in the villages, brought in by some returned plantation labourer. But most families do their cooking with the aid of native pots, of which they will possess at least two or three of different sizes. For

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individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal, constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish. These people will put their hands into water that is only just off the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire. Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah, still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large, pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark '*Komanē a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

SMOKING

Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children. Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which may or may not be alight (Pl. 37*b*).

Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to

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PLATE 38

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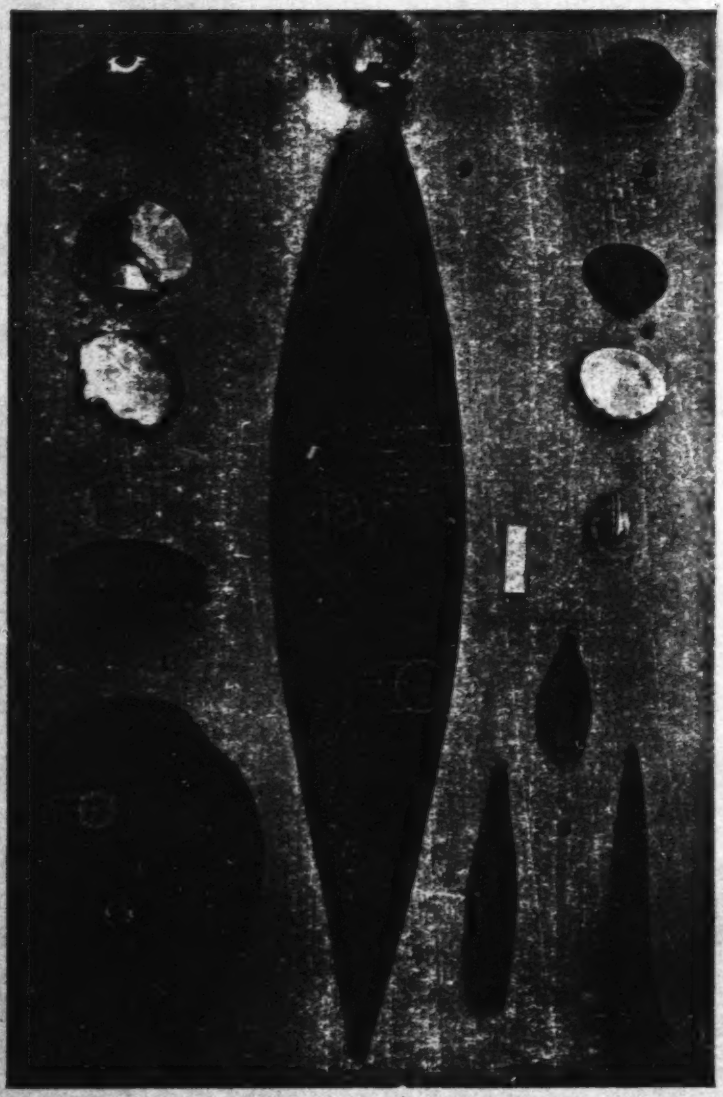

SOME OBJECTS IN COMMON USE

1. Pinna shell containing paint. 2. Stone for crushing paint, &c. 3. Women's knives. 4, 5. Taro scrapers. 6. Spoons. 7. Tweezers. 8. Bone tools for making thatch. 9. Coco-nut scraper made from canoe-paddle.

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276 a still younger child who also chewed it. The practice is usually referred to as 'betel-nut chewing', but, as has been pointed out by Ivens (1927, p. 285), this is actually a transference of the name of the condiment chewed with the nut to the nut itself, which is the seed of the areca-palm (*Areca catechu* and allied species). As usual throughout the Melanesian area, the areca-nut (*bok*) is always used in conjunction with betel-pepper (*ta-nek*) and lime (*iav*), a combination referred to by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* as 'the betel-mixture', a practice which I have followed in this book. The procedure is somewhat different from that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons. It is frequently eaten after a meal, but also at any and every opportunity as desired, much as we smoke cigarettes. The catkin-like fruit, described by Guppy (p. 95) as 'the female spike', of the betel-pepper (*ta-sian*) is much more highly relished [853] than the leaf, which is eaten only when the fruit is scarce, or by those to whom the fruit is taboo, as in the case of a mother with a suckling child. The lime is carried in a specially cleaned-out [415 531] shell of a young coco-nut (also called *iav*), which is often ornamented with an elaborate incised pattern (*iav a gōm*) emphasized by having lime rubbed over the lines (Pl. 72). The north coast [439] people do not now make these carved specimens, but obtain them by barter from the mountain people. Often, however, they are 'too lazy' to make even a plain one by cleaning a coco-nut, and are content to keep their lime in empty cigarette tins or tobacco tins. No spatula is used, the nut being dipped straight into the lime-pot. I saw no mortars for use by old people, who, if they cannot open the nuts with their hardened gums, will get one of the youngsters to do it for them.

245 222 Areca-palms (*boi*) are cultivated, and are regarded as valuable property. There is also a kind of wild palm producing small nuts, which are also eaten, but only if the others are not available.

The betel-pepper (*Piper betel*) is cultivated. There are also wild varieties, of which I know three kinds; they have much smaller leaves and are less in favour. One, called *tʃutʃun*, is chewed especially by old women. All these varieties are parasitic on large trees. If a large quantity is required the stem will be severed near the ground and the whole plant pulled off the tree, but as a rule the fruit and leaves are carefully picked one by one so as not to injure the growing plant.

000 Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred. Its

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with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the same purpose.

Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long, scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end. These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter. The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uŋ*. Pinari knows how to make it, but he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance. Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

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THORN-LINED FISH-TRAP AND LANDING-NET WITH BAIT BOX

[facing p. 331]

226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *payur*, *malaisa*, *tayini*.

226 *Gotoin* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Pako (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palayon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palayon.

824 *Katʃian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
227 of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
[283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made
[187] by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
439] used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the
[286] reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with
[415] a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
824] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

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rims. It does not seem to occur to them that it would be more comfortable to put a board across to sit on. The smaller canoes are so narrow that the feet must be placed one in front of the other in the bottom because there is no room for them side by side. If there is only one paddler he sits near the stern, if a second, he occupies the bow; any others will distribute themselves in between. The shape of the paddle can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 49). It is frequently ornamented with a design either incised or cut in very low relief, picked out with paint. If there is no design, the whole paddle is often painted white by rubbing with the seaweed *mō*. In use, the ornamented sidė is directed towards the paddler. One hand is placed over the top, the other grasping the handle near the blade, as in paddling a Canadian canoe. The stroke is rather short, and a good deal quicker than that used by Canadian Indians, probably because these canoes are used on the sea. The paddle is lifted right out of the water at each stroke. The steering differs slightly from that of a Canadian canoe, owing to the outrigger.

Cargo is piled up on the platform over the hull of the canoe, which is the driest place in the boat. Anything laid in the bottom is certain to get wet, as a good deal of water is shipped even in a smooth sea. Baling is done with half a coco-nut shell (why do they always seem to bring the half with the eyehole in it?), or, nowadays, often with an old tin can. I once saw a wooden baler being used near Soraken, but I did not come across any of these in the villages with which I was acquainted. In rough water a considerable amount of skill is required to avoid swamping. Even if filled with water or overturned, the canoe is prevented from sinking by the outrigger, and if hard put to it, the occupants will jump overboard and swim, pushing the canoe along with them.

Sails are sometimes seen, but they are not of native workmanship, and their use and technique has been learned from white men. A favourite device when running before the wind is to hold up one of the large leaves of the coco-nut or the sago palm, which acts as a very efficient sail, if there is just the right amount of wind. I have never seen canoes sailed close to the wind.

The Plank Canoe.

The most elaborate of all the articles manufactured in this area is the plank canoe, called, as in all other parts of Melanesia where

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a. TYPES OF POTTERY
1. *Tabeli* 2. *Kolo*
3. *Kepa* 4. Pot from Buin

facing p 390

b. CARRYING POTS HOME FROM MALASANG

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PLATE 61

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stick. A piece of smouldering wood is laid on the top of the ashes, and a few sticks across the edges, forming a rough rectangle. The pots are laid on the ashes almost horizontal, but with their rims propped up against the outside sticks (Pl. 60*a*). Four pots face one way, four the opposite way, their pointed bases alternating in the middle. Sticks are then laid upright against the pots, making a kind of fence all round. Other sticks are laid lightly on the top of the pots, but they are nowhere completely covered. The fire from the smouldering wood left inside soon makes its way through. The sticks are dry, and of a wood which catches fire easily, and the whole structure is soon a mass of flames (Pl. 60*b*). It burns down to ashes in about ten or fifteen minutes. The pots are then taken out with the aid of a long pole, and left in the air for a short time, care being taken to put them inside the house before darkness falls. The next day they are fired a second time, in precisely the same manner, and are then stored in the rafters of the house until required. It is said that the smoke of the cooking fire going up on to them makes them strong. When freshly fired they are of a yellowish-brown colour, except where the sticks have touched them, where they are burnt black. No care is taken to avoid this, as it does not show when they have been smoked for a time in the rafters; they are then uniformly black. In this condition they are sold. No glaze or slip is used, neither is any attempt made to burnish or polish them.

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Shape and size.

There are two shapes. One is circular at the top, with sides nearly parallel till near the base, when it tapers to a point. This point is fixed in a heap of ashes when the pot is in use, firewood being then piled around the sides of the pot. Pots of this shape are called *tabeli* and are used for the ordinary household cooking, which consists chiefly in boiling taro (Pl. 61*a*, no. 1). One of about the average size measured 15 inches from base to rim when held upright on the ground, 11 inches in diameter at the rim, 36 inches in circumference at the rim, and 37 inches at the widest part, about 4 inches below the rim. I saw no very large ones, but I was told that they are sometimes made to stand as much as 3 feet from the ground, with a diameter which I estimated at something like 18–20 inches (both measurements indicated by gestures). A large pot such as this is called *ebowo* and is used for cooking pig, but is

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323 not often in demand. A very small pot is called *holo* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 2). The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It 415 is called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

Barter of pots.

438 436 Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bougainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Malasang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skil- 482 fully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*kōbā*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61*b*).

201 765 Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.

323 I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.

323 773 The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or traditions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.

TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

(*Malasang Dialect*)

323 *Materials and tools.*

192

Term	*Explanation*
pētako	a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush.
mimia	substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland.

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285 [184] them. The result is a basket with a very open mesh, with the holes in the shape of large polygons in even rows. It is called *aunat* in the Petats dialect. I did not see anything of this kind at Kurtatchi.

Plaiting, done by both sexes.

285 415 A third kind of basket is made by both men and women, by the simple method of taking a length of the leaf of the coco-nut palm, cut to the size required, splitting its mid-rib to form the brim, and plaiting the fronds together for the sides (Pl. 62*a*). The bottom consists of the ends of the plaited fronds knotted together. These baskets are intended for temporary use only, and are thrown away when done with. The women use them chiefly for putting cooked taro ready in the rafters or other convenient place so that members of the family can help themselves when they are hungry. The men use them to carry their pipes, tobacco, and the ingredients for chewing the betel-mixture. For this purpose the men make them with a hole in the middle of each side, near the top, through which they thrust their hands and wrists, for convenience in carrying.

342 The fronds of coco-nut palm leaves are also plaited together to make a covering for the ridge-pole of the huts, to block an opening, or to make a partition or a screen from the wind. The fronds on the left side of one leaf and the right side of another are stripped off, the leaves laid side by side with the sides on which the fronds still remain turned towards each other. The mid-ribs, laid bare on the other side, then form the outer edges of the matting, which is made by intertwining the fronds of one leaf with the fronds of the other (Pl. 62*b*). If a very wide piece of plaiting is required, three leaves may be used, the fronds on both sides of the extra one being intertwined with those of the two others, which are placed one on each side of it, the edges of the finished article being formed of the mid-rib of the outer ones.

NOTE ON STONE IMPLEMENTS

412 324 177 The stone implements of the olden days have now been entirely superseded by trade knives, axes, and adzes, which can be obtained from the planters' stores, or are brought back by men returning from indentured labour at Rabaul or elsewhere. But the use of these latter has been general only for about two generations, and numerous specimens of stone implements are still lying about the villages, some being used to grind the blades of their modern

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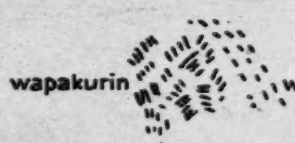
304 *wabuin*, pattern on chest of male, person of rank (Pl. 9*a*).

192 *wapukun*, pattern on thighs of women.

atō, representation of fruit of sago-palm, sometimes cut on thighs of women (I have not seen this).

wapakurin, marks cut along back of arm in both sexes. A series of groups of short cuts, each group going in a different direction.



watitin úrits, lines of short cuts running round back of shoulder on to arm, in both sexes.

wasákip, another word for the above, used by people who stand in a taboo relationship to a man named Watitin and therefore cannot use this word.

warírikin, rows of round weals down the back curving inwards from each armpit or from the shoulder. Women only (Pl. 11*b*).

wagunas, pattern covering chest and abdomen in women, both persons of rank and commoners (Pls. 69, 70).

sisir a kobár, marks representing the trail of the hermit crab, sometimes put on the outside of a woman's thigh, but more often made by men on their arms and chest with a piece of bottle or a knife (Pl. 11*a*).

CHARACTERISTIC DECORATION

531 Many articles of daily use, as well as objects of ceremonial importance, are decorated with various designs, either carved or painted, or, as in the case of paddles, first carved and then picked out with paint. Most of these are traditional. Some can be given a meaning, in other cases the meaning, if any, has been lost, and informants will say that the word used just means that particular pattern.

531 Elaborate designs are found on the young coco-nut shells which
415 are used to contain powdered lime for chewing with the betel-mixture. They are incised with a black-lip oyster shell, and lime is then rubbed into the lines to make them stand out against the dark polished shell. Some of them are shown in Pl. 72. The most important is one involving the human figure (seen on the left of the second row). Lime-pots with such patterns are carried by the novices at one stage of the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and are so highly

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PLATE 72

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LIME-POTS [facing p. 433]

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valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bēbē*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pakatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

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764 535 [533] are sounded and the slit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers. The rhythm goes like this:

////..|..|..|..////..|..|..|..

The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 [415 824] During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiy* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

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[1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tsunaun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarē said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

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situations, unless something has taken place which has aroused ancient conflicts and brought them again into prominence in the mind of the dreamer.' It was perhaps fortunate for the dreamers that I am not a trained psycho-analyst! 154

2. 'Dreams which tell or enact a connected story and have an evident meaning, but their contents, in whole or in part, strike us as unnatural, and we cannot fit them into the fabric of our waking life.'

Certain incidents in otherwise rational dreams bring them into this category. Two dreams illustrating this point, which have not previously been quoted, are here given:

No. 39. Togen (adult male).

I dreamed about a big *mon* (plank canoe); we caught a pig and put it in the *mon*, and we went ashore at a big village, and the people carried the *mon* to the bottom of a cliff, and we went up by a ladder (i.e. a notched tree trunk which is placed against the steepest rocks to enable them to be climbed) and the ladder waved from side to side (illustrating by motions of his hand) as we went up it. Then the people cut up the pig, and one man took pieces of the pig and took them to every house. This is a good dream. I thought it was true. 154 159 [417]

No. 61. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed an *awar* ran after me. I went up in the air, my hands were waving about, I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down. Then I made a noise like this (she illustrated by grunting and panting). Presently I was walking along the road with Pinari (her husband) and we went to the shore, and all the women were making coco-nut-leaf baskets. I went inside a hole and went to sleep. Then Pinari told me to tell the women to fill up the water coco-nuts[1] with pig's fat. I did not want to. I said: 'I don't want all the women to be angry and say bad things about me.' This is a bad dream. (The dreamer was unable to give any reason for saying so.)

3. 'Dreams of which the content is bizarre, confused, and nonsensical; such dreams often have a peculiar quality of unreality, and can scarcely, if at all, be related to waking thought. . . . Much

[1] These are the cleaned-out coco-nut shells which serve the women for water-bottles. They are much-cherished possessions, the more so as it is a matter of considerable time and trouble to remove the 'meat' through the 'eye' of the coco-nut. To defile them in the manner suggested in the dream would be gravely resented. It may be noted, in connexion with this dream, that the dreamer was at the time pregnant by a man other than her husband, and had been the subject of much gossip in the village, the more so because her husband is the most important taxpayer in the place. [415] [52]

banana leaves into which they put the half-finished pot while the upper sides are being formed. When the pot is the right shape, then here and there--wherever the side walls seem to the maker to be too thin--little clay patches are added for strengthening. After the edge as well as the outside and the inside have been made as smooth as possible with dampened hands, a decoration in the shape of zigzag lines is frequently scratched on the edge. The manufacture of a middle-sized pot takes about an hour. The completed articles are dried for several days in the shade and then baked. This last procedure is very simple. Several pots are placed beside one another, and dry twigs and little pieces of wood are built up around them; then these are ignited and, for a certain time, new fuel is added; after about 8 hours the pot has been sufficiently baked and is ready for use. Pots of the most varied dimensions are to be found--between 15 and 30 centimeters in diameter, but rarely more. The form of the pots differs in the north and in the south of the region under consideration. In Buka and north Bougainville the form is conical, the sides are slightly rounded, and the rim is not bent outwards. In Shortland and south Bougainville the shape is almost spherical and the opening is narrow with a rim that is flared out. 323 [171]

After acquaintance with the Europeans and the introduction of smoking tobacco the islanders successfully undertook the manufacture of pipes. Fifteen years ago you could frequently buy pipes there that were made of two pieces. The clay bowl had only a very short shaft, which was inserted into a thin stem, and the point of connection wrapped with bast fibers; today they have already made a certain sort of progress by preparing the bowl and the shaft out of a single piece and often decorate the bowl with engraved ornaments. The local product is now preferred to the European almost everywhere. 323 276

It is surprising that no one has come up with the idea of making clay drinking vessels or water containers. Coconut shells are used exclusively for these purposes. In the north they are superficially scraped on the outside with a stone; but in the south great care is often applied to their preparation. In Shortland I have seen specimens that were provided with a coating made from the pulverized fruit of Parinarium laurinum; into this shell [23] disks and beads were pressed and delicate ornaments were formed by this means. They had two shapes: the one was spherical and called fasi, and the other had a short neck, which was likewise decorated like the above container, and called kungkuku. Now these containers are becoming rather 415 171 [324]

rare: the empty beer bottles of the Europeans are easily available and fulfill the same purpose. 415 171

Sharpened mollusk shells and bones were formerly in common use as knives and scrapers, but today they are to be found only in the inland villages. On the coast and on the small islands the knife is now in general use. 412

In north Bougainville and Buka and here and there even in south Bougainville one finds utensils (several in every village) which are used for pulverizing various cooked tubers. The instrument consists of a conical wooden block -- about 1 meter high -- whose point is inserted about 25 centimeters deep into the ground. The outer sides are sometimes decorated with bas relief carvings and painted; the upper rim projects slightly, and at the bottom, about 25 centimeters from the tip, an embossed ring is carved. The inverted base of the cone is 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter. The inner part is hollowed out so that the whole thing resembles a large wooden jug. Cooked taro and yam roots are put into this container and crushed to a thick mush with the stick that is about a meter and a half long; in Buka this instrument is called maromo, and in Shortland tagoro. 415 [531] [252]

Another household utensil that is characteristic for the north consists of a circular board of about 50 to 75 centimeters diameter with a carved embossed rim and two diametrically opposite handles. This plate is used for pulverizing kanari nuts, which are crushed and pulverized on it with a stone pestle. These pestles vary in size and weight; most of them are 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter on the slightly convex pounding surface. The pestle itself is conical, and at the top it ends in a handle with a knob or with a somewhat projecting edge. A few specimens are carefully polished; in my collection there is an especially well-made specimen, which has been polished completely smooth. The lower part of the pestle is circular with a diameter of 9 1/2 centimeters; at a height of 12 1/2 centimeters the sides flare slightly upward; then there follows the 9 centimeter long handle, which is decorated at the top with a conical knob that projects on every side about 1 centimeter. In Buka the wooden plate is called marara and the stone pestle kukono. 412 415

In the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville, after an expedition into mountain villages in the year 1896, a feast was prepared for me upon my return. It does not deserve mention for its culinary accomplishments, but because here I found a number of woven dishes and baskets being used to serve the meal, which otherwise I had seen nowhere in Bougainville. Three characteristic shapes were represented. First, round dishes were used to pile cooked fish on. These dishes had a base of 40 to 415 171

60 centimeters in diameter, and around this was an obliquely projecting rim -- 10 to 15 centimeters wide -- which was pierced by 4 to 6 triangular holes. This sort of shallow dish was called dara. The second type of dish was conical in shape; the flat round base was about 15 centimeters in diameter and the mouth 60 centimeters. The sides were about 40 centimeters high, curved gently inward, and provided with four triangular holes beneath the rim. In the bottom there was small diamond-shaped opening of about 1 centimeter in length on each side, probably to drain the fluid that collected in the dish. Pots of this form were called doado; they were filled with boiled and baked taros and yams. The triangular holes along the rim serve as handles when it is being carried. The third type--the handle basket--has the name koko. There were two different types of these baskets: some had a flat oval base, and the erect rim was pressed together at the sides and provided with a woven handle about 4 centimeters wide and 20 centimeters high; others consisted of a round plate whose sides were curved upward and connected with a handle. These baskets were also used for serving various dishes. The method of production is the same as is found in New Guinea, New Pomerania, and the Admiralty Islands. A strip of a tough variety of liana about 3 to 4 millimeters in diameter is sewed to another with 1 to 1 1/2 millimeter wide fiber threads. The strips are connected in pairs by coiling the thread around them. [derart dass die Windungen aus der ersteren paarweise untereinander durch Umwicklung verbunden werden.] Otherwise people use the usual simple baskets woven of coconut leaves.

[25] Tools

We will begin with the stone axes, which can also be counted among the weapons. Nowadays they are no longer in general use. In the interior of Bougainville I found them being used as late as 1896, and here they will possibly continue in use for a short time; in Nissan, Buka, in the coastal regions of Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands they now belong to the implements of the past.

Several years ago my attention was directed to these axes by a few specimens that were brought from Nissan and, with respect to shape, deviated significantly from the normal shape of primitive ax blades. I am publishing my investigations in detail in order to show how, step by

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6

539 Then they lifted up Monohan and came home. They beat
779 the slit-gong. Two young girls heard the slit-gong, they came up, they asked the old woman: "Who is that beating
[534] the slit-gong? We know you have no men here." (Beating the slit-gong is the men's prerogative.) The old woman said: "You think I have got a man here, do you?" "Someone is beating the slit-gong at your place." "No, I think it is another place." She had hidden her children. So the two girls went away. The slit-gong sounded again. The two girls came back. "Old woman, you are hiding some man you have got here." The old woman said: "No, all the men ran away." Then the two girls pretended to go away, they hid close by. Then the slit-gong sounded again. The two girls ran back again, and said: "Old woman, we did really hear your slit-gong, you must have a man here." "No, I haven't. I am ill." She had tied a string round her
[757] leg to fool them. (When the natives are in pain, they tie a piece of fibre string very tightly round the affected part.) "Can't you see that I am very ill?" One of the girls had a child with her, the child dropped a shell-knife. Now the
• [445] two brothers were hiding behind a *baran* (large wooden tray on which is pounded the taro for making ceremonial pudding). Their mother tried to catch the shell-knife, she threw over the *baran*. The girls saw the old woman's two children, they cried out: "Oh! the old woman was hiding two fine fellows!" Then one of the girls pulled one of the brothers to her, and the other girl pulled the other brother. So they were married.

Then the two brothers took the two girls and they went and cut up Monohan. Then they cooked him, and put him on the food-platform. Then they killed a lot of pigs, to make a big feast to eat with the man. Then they sent word to the people from every place to come, they had a big feast, a man and some pigs. The old woman sent word to all the men who had run away before: "I called out to you before, and you would not come back, now you must come

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

follow will serve to illustrate the relationship referred to, as it is conceived by the natives of North Bougainville. 538 825

The Shark-child.

A man had connection with his wife. She was a young woman. She became pregnant. He thought she was carrying a child. Her time drew near. The child was born. She did not bear a real child, she bore a shark. It was born. The woman's mother thought she had borne a human child. She wanted to see it. She saw it, it was a shark. "What is that you have borne? It is a shark, belonging to the salt-water." They went and fetched some sea water, they poured it into a *kobu* (receptacle made of the fibrous sheath of the areca palm, much used by the natives for carrying and other purposes). They took the woman's shark-child, they put him inside. He stood up in the water. He stayed in the water, he grew big in the water. All the people did not know about him, only the woman's kinsfolk knew. Now he grew big. They made a feast for him. The woman's kinsfolk showed him to all the people. Some of the women said: "Let us go and look at the woman's child." They all said: "He isn't a real child, the woman has borne a shark." They all went and made him stand up at the bottom of a river. He stayed there, he did not leave the river. He made himself a house on the sand. When they made a feast, they took a piece of pig, they went and called out for the shark, and gave him the piece of pig. They cut the shark's skin. They made him stand up again. 539 825 [415 482]

The teller here explained that they cut a pattern on the shark's skin just like the pattern cut on his own chest. (These natives cut elaborate patterns on various parts of their bodies, rubbing lime into them so that the scars remain permanently.) He said that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, it lived at Timputs, his *tubune* bore it a long time ago. The term *tubune* is used for an ancestor, of [304]